

Message Text

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SUBJECT: CCD I978 SUMMER SESSION: OVERALL GUIDANCE

REF: STATE 44777 (DTG 212305Z FEB I978)

I. SUMMARY: THIS CABLE PROVIDES BASIC GUIDANCE FOR THE US DELEGATION TO THE SUMMER SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (CCD). ON THE WHOLE, THE USG ANTICIPATES A RELATIVELY LOW-KEY AND UNEVENTFUL SESSION. END SUMMARY

2. GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS. THIS SUMMER SESSION OF THE CCD WILL BE ITS LAST, WITH THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (THE SUCCESSOR MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATING BODY) TO CONVENE IN GENEVA NO LATER THAN JANUARY 1979. THE CCD'S SUMMER SESSION OPENS IN THE WAKE OF THE UNGA'S SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD), WHICH SUCCEEDED IN PRODUCING A CONSENSUS FINAL DOCUMENT THAT WILL BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN MULTILATERAL ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

DURING CCD'S SUMMER SESSION THE ATMOSPHERE IS LIKELY TO BE MORE RESTRAINED THAN IN THE RECENT PAST. MANY DELS MAY WISH TO DEFER SERIOUS WORK ON SUBSTANTIVE MULTILATERAL ISSUES TO THE NEW COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (CD), AND MAY WANT THE CCD TO DEVOTE ITS LAST SESSION TO GENERAL DEBATE ON TRADITIONAL ISSUES AND ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND PROPOSALS WHICH EMERGED FROM THE SPECIAL SESSION.

THE USDEL SHOULD STRIVE TO MAINTAIN THE POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE TONE WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE SPECIAL SESSION. IN REGARD TO THOSE US BILATERAL AND TRILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS

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TIONS OF MOST DIRECT INTEREST TO THE CCD (ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND ON COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN RESPECTIVELY), DEL SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE THE USG ATTACHES TO CONCLUDING EFFECTIVE AND VERIFIABLE MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS, BUT SHOULD AVOID RAISING EXPECTATIONS THAT THERE WILL BE ANY MULTILATERAL WORK ON A CTB TREATY OR CW CONVENTION THIS SUMMER. FURTHER, GIVEN THE SENSITIVE STAGE OF BOTH THE CTB AND CW NEGOTIATIONS, DEL SHOULD AVOID MAKING SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS ABOUT THEM IN PUBLIC, PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO UNRESOLVED ISSUES, SO AS NOT TO PREJUDICE PROGRESS IN THE PRIVATE TALKS.

AS AT PAST CCD SESSIONS, USDEL SHOULD CONTINUE TO PROMOTE INTEREST IN AND UNDERSTANDING OF OUR ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT EFFORTS AND SHOULD INDICATE THAT THE USG RECOGNIZES THE MANY POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR COMMON OBJECTIVES WHICH HAVE BEEN AND WHICH CONTINUE TO BE MADE BY OTHER COUNTRIES. DEL SHOULD ALSO EMPHASIZE TO OUR ALLIES THAT WE DESIRE TO CONTINUE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS, SEEKING ALLIED CONSENSUS ON BOTH SUBSTANCE AND TACTICS TO THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE EXTENT.

3. ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROCEDURAL ISSUES. AMONG THE SIGNIFICANT IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION ARE THOSE WHICH RELATE TO ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS: THE REVIVATION OF THE UN DISARMAMENT COMMISSION AS A DELIBERATIVE BODY SUBORDINATE TO THE UNGA; AND AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES FOR ESTABLISHING THE NEW COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (CD) -- THE SOMEWHAT EXPANDED MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATING BODY WHICH

WILL SUCCEED THE CCD.

IN RELATION TO CD MEMBERSHIP, USDEL SHOULD ASSUAGE ANY LINGERING CONCERNS THAT CURRENT MEMBERS OF THE CCD WHO REMAIN INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT EFFORTS MIGHT BE EXCLUDED. DEL SHOULD DRAW ATTENTION TO RELEVANT US REMARKS IN OUR CLOSING STATEMENT AT

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THE SPECIAL SESSION, PARTICULARLY THE UNDERSTANDING THAT CD MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE OPEN TO ALL REPEAT ALL CCD MEMBERS. (ASSURANCES ABOUT THE CONTINUED PARTICIPATION OF CURRENT CCD MEMBERS WERE ALSO GIVEN BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT

MOJSOV IN HIS FINAL STATEMENT. FIVE TO EIGHT NEW MEMBERS ARE "TO BE CHOSEN IN CONSULTATION WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE THIRTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.") ON THE PROCEDURES TO BE USED IN SELECTING THE ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF THE CD, DEL SHOULD STATE THAT WE ENVISION A PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS ELSEWHERE THAT WOULD LEAD TO CHOICES BY THE GEOGRAPHIC GROUPS, WHICH WOULD IN TURN BE CONVEYED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE 32ND UNGA. ALTHOUGH POSSIBILITIES FOR NEW MEMBERS WILL INEVITABLY BE A TOPIC OF UNOFFICIAL, INFORMAL DISCUSSION, THE USDEL SHOULD STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF ENSURING THAT THE CCD, AS A BODY AND IN ISOLATION, DOES NOT APPEAR TO OTHERS TO BE CHOOSING THE ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF THE CD. THE DELEGATION SHOULD ALSO OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION IN CCD'S PROGRAM OF WORK FOR THE SUMMER SESSION. MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE DELEGATION SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT INDICATE PREFERENCES AMONG CANDIDATES WITHIN A GEOGRAPHIC REGION. THE DELEGATION'S STANDARD RESPONSE TO REQUESTS FOR SUPPORT SHOULD BE THAT WE WILL SUPPORT THE CANDIDACY OF COUNTRIES CHOSEN BY THE REGIONAL GROUPS.

THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES MAY ATTEMPT TO STIMULATE INTEREST IN HAVING THE CCD CONSIDER ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NEW CD. DELEGATION SHOULD OPPOSE ANY PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD MAKE IT APPEAR THAT THE CCD IS ADOPTING PROCEDURES FOR THE CD, POINTING OUT THAT THE NEW CD (LIKE THE CCD ITSELF) WILL BE THE MASTER OF ITS OWN RULES OF PROCEDURE AND WILL THEREFORE NOT BE BOUND

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BY ANY ARRANGEMENTS MADE ELSEWHERE (E.G., IN THE CCD, IN THE UN DISARMAMENT COMMISSION, OR IN THE UNGA). ON THE OTHER HAND, IF STRONG INTEREST IN DISCUSSING CD PROCEDURES DOES DEVELOP, THE USDEL MAY SUPPORT A PROPOSAL TO HOLD INFORMAL MEETINGS DESIGNED TO DEVELOP RECOMMENDATIONS ON PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS WHICH WOULD IN TURN BE FORWARDED TO

THE CD FOR ITS CONSIDERATION.

4. COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATING PROGRAM (CNP). SUBSTANTIVE USG VIEWS ON A CNP REMAIN AS INDICATED IN REFTEL. HOWEVER, IN LIGHT OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL RESULTS OF THE UNGA'S SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT THE NIGERIANS, THE MEXICANS, AND OTHER NONALIGNED DELEGATIONS WILL WANT THE CCD TO CARRY OUT SUBSTANTIVE WORK ON A CNP THIS SUMMER. US DEL SHOULD ADOPT A FLEXIBLE BUT NON-ACTIVIST ROLE ON THIS QUESTION, ACCEDING TO THE WISHES OF THOSE DELS WHICH IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN THE MOST ACTIVELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE ISSUE OF A CNP.

5. CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW). GIVEN THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON A CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN ARE EXPECTED TO BE PART OF THE WORK OF THE NEW COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT, THERE MAY NOT BE SIGNIFICANT INTEREST IN CREATING A CW NEGOTIATING WORKING GROUP IN CCD THIS SUMMER. IF SUCH A PROPOSAL IS RAISED USDEL SHOULD OPPOSE IT VIGOROUSLY, SAYING THAT THE ORGANIZATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD MAKE IT INAPPROPRIATE FOR CCD TO COMMENCE MULTILATERAL CW NEGOTIATIONS THIS SUMMER AND THAT IN ANY CASE THE PROPER GROUNDWORK FOR SUCCESSFUL MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS HAS NOT YET BEEN LAID. IF ASKED ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF US-SOVIET BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A JOINT INITIATIVE, DEL SHOULD STATE THAT INTENSIVE EFFORTS ARE CONTINUING AND THAT THE NEXT ROUND WILL START AT SOME TIME IN AUGUST, BUT THAT THE TIMING OF THE JOINT INITIATIVE CANNOT BE PREDICTED. (THE SUBSTANTIVE SITUATION IN THE BILATERAL TALKS REMAINS AS DESCRIBED IN THE JOINT US-SOVIET STATEMENT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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MAY 9, 1978, WHICH WAS DELIVERED IN CCD BY SOVIET AMB LIKHATCHEV.)

UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WE DO NOT THINK THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WOULD BE APPRECIABLY ADVANCED BY HAVING CCD HOLD CW INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS, AND WE DOUBT THAT OTHER DELS WILL EXPRESS SUBSTANTIAL INTEREST IN HAVING SUCH MEETINGS. IN CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS USDEL SHOULD SEEK TO DISSUADE THEM FROM ADVANCING A PROPOSAL FOR CW INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS. HOWEVER, IF CONTRARY TO OUR EXPECTATIONS SIGNIFICANT INTEREST IN INFORMAL MEETINGS DOES ARISE, DEL SHOULD REPORT THE VIEWS OF KEY WESTERN, NONALIGNED, AND EASTERN DELEGATIONS AND SHOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS.

6. COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (CTB). GUIDANCE WILL BE PROVIDED SEPARATELY.

7. CONTINUATION OF SEISMIC EXPERTS GROUP. GUIDANCE WILL BE PROVIDED SEPARATELY.

8. SEABEDS EXPERTS GROUP. IN ITS FINAL DOCUMENT (ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS), THE 1977 REVIEW CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES TO THE SEABEDS ARMS CONTROL TREATY INVITED THE CCD TO CONSIDER ESTABLISHING AN AD HOC GROUP OF EXPERTS TO STUDY TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE SEABEDS. SHOULD SUCH A PROPOSAL BE ADVANCED BY THE SWedes OR BY OTHERS, DEL SHOULD REPORT THE TERMS OF REFERENCE AND REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS. (FYI. AT THE REVCON WE INDICATED OUR WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING SUCH AN EXPERTS GROUP, DEPENDING ON THE SPECIFIC PROPOSAL AND OTHER RELEVANT CIRCUMSTANCES. END FYI.)

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9. FURTHER SEABEDS ARMS CONTROL MEASURES. THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE SEABEDS REVCON, UNGA RESOLUTION 32/87-A, AND THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE SPECIAL SESSION ALL CONTAIN LANGUAGE REQUESTING THE PROMPT CONSIDERATION OF FURTHER MEASURES IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT FOR THE PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE ON THE SEABEDS. SO FAR THERE HAVE BEEN NO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR THE OPENING OF NEW NEGOTIATIONS, AND WE DOUBT THAT ANY SUCH PROPOSALS WILL BE FORTHCOMING IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IF THE QUESTION DOES ARISE USDEL SHOULD STATE THAT THE USG DOES NOT VIEW THIS AS AN URGENT MATTER (SINCE THERE IS NOT NOW AN ARMS RACE ON THE SEABEDS AND SINCE WE SEE LITTLE PROSPECT OF ONE), BUT THAT THE USG WILL CONSIDER SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER SEABEDS ARMS CONTROL MEASURES ON THEIR MERITS, AS SUCH PROPOSALS MAY ARISE.

10. NEW MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS (MDW). NEW MDW IS A PERENNIAL SUBJECT CONSIDERED BY THE CCD. THUS IT IS LIKELY THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL PRESS TO HAVE IT ADDRESSED IN SOME MANNER DURING THE SUMMER SESSION. THE PROGRAM OF ACTION OF THE UNGA'S SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT CONTAINED ACCEPTABLE, ANODYNE LANGUAGE ON THE THREAT OF NEW TYPES OF MDW. THIS OUTCOME RESULTED FROM THE USDEL'S SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE TO SOVIET EFFORTS TO INCLUDE SOME MEASURE OF ENDORSEMENT FOR A GENERAL TREATY BANNING SUCH WEAPONS, AS WELL AS A TREATY BANNING "NUCLEAR NEUTRON" WEAPONS. NEVERTHELESS, AT THE CCD THE SOVIETS WILL BE ABLE TO POINT TO THE SPECIAL SESSION'S INJUNCTION THAT THE QUESTION OF NEW MDW "SHOULD BE KEPT UNDER CONTINUING REVIEW"; THEY MAY SEEK TO SCHEDULE A SERIES OF INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS ON THE SUBJECT OF MDW, AND THEY MAY PRESS FOR FORMAL CONSIDERATION OF ONE OR BOTH OF THEIR DRAFT TREATIES. OUR STRONG OBJECTIONS TO THE SOVIET DRAFT GENERAL TREATY ON MDW HAVE BEEN SET FORTH CLEARLY IN THE PAST, AND IT IS DOUBTFUL WE WILL HAVE ANYTHING NEW TO ADD AT THE CCD THIS SUMMER. WE CAN TAKE SOME

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SATISFACTION THAT THE RESULTS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION APPEARED TO REFLECT GROWING NONALIGNED APPRECIATION OF OUR POSITION. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT THE CCD ESTABLISH AN AD HOC EXPERTS GROUP ON MDW IS PLAINLY JUST ANOTHER, NO LESS OBJECTIONABLE ROUTE INTENDED TO LEAD TO A GENERAL MDW TREATY. THE USDEL SHOULD SEEK TO DETERMINE SOVIET INTENTIONS ON MDW AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE AND SHOULD ALSO CONSULT WITH THE BRITISH, WHO HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT. DELEGATION SHOULD REPORT ANY PROPOSALS FOR MDW INFORMALS, TOGETHER WITH RECOMMENDATIONS ON POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION OF USG EXPERT(S). DELEGATION SHOULD NOT COMMIT THE US TO EXPERT-LEVEL PARTICIPATION IN THESE OR ANY OTHER CCD DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT WITHOUT REFERRING THE MATTER TO WASHINGTON.

II. RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS (RW). ON JULY 18 THE US AND THE USSR WILL RESUME NEGOTIATIONS (IN THE RW/MDW BILATERAL WORKING GROUP) ON A JOINT INITIATIVE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TREATY BANNING RW. WE HOPE TO DETERMINE BY EARLY AUGUST WHETHER THE USSR IS PREPARED TO COMPLETE THE INITIATIVE OR WHETHER THE SOVIETS POSSIBLY VIEW SUCH A STEP AS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO THEIR PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPONS. IN THE MEANTIME, IF ASKED, DEL SHOULD SAY THAT:

-- THE BILATERAL WORKING GROUP HAS MADE PROGRESS ON A JOINT INITIATIVE ON AN RW (OR RADIOACTIVE MATERIAL WEAPONS) AGREEMENT. THE USG BELIEVES THAT THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES CAN BE RESOLVED AT A FAIRLY EARLY DATE, PROVIDED THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE AN EQUAL WILL TO DO SO.

-- PROGRESS ON OTHER DISARMAMENT ISSUES OF INTEREST TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CCD, SUCH AS CTB AND CW, CONTINUES TO TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER RW.

12. ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPONS (ERW). IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES WILL AGAIN RAISE THE ERW OR "NEUTRON BOMB" ISSUE AT THE CCD. IF THE OCCASION ARISES, DEL SHOULD POINT OUT TO THE SOVIETS IN PRIVATE THAT WE REGARD FURTHER PROPAGANDA EFFORTS ON THIS SUBJECT TO BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO OUR SHARED CONCERN FOR A SMOOTH AND HARMONIOUS CCD SESSION. SHOULD THE SOVIETS RENEW BREZHNEV'S OFFER OF MUTUAL RENUNCIATION OF ERW PRODUCTION, THE USDEL SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- THE SOVIET UNION IS CONTINUING TO DEVELOP NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS DELIVERY SYSTEMS WHICH REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT IN-

CREASES IN THE DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITIES TARGETED BY THE SOVIET UNION ON WESTERN EUROPE, AN INCREASE WHICH GOES BEYOND REASONABLE DEFENSIVE REQUIREMENTS.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD RESPOND TO THE RESTRAINT WE HAVE DISPLAYED IN TERMS THAT RELATE TO THE TRUE MILITARY SITUATION IN EUROPE. SOVIET RENUNCIATION OF PRODUCTION OF ERW IS NOT ADEQUATE RESTRAINT IN VIEW OF THE LOW VALUE OF THE ERW FOR THE SOVIET UNION (I.E., IT IS A DEFENSIVE WEAPON FOR USE AGAINST A TANK ASSAULT).

-- OUR PRODUCTION DECISION ON THE ERW WILL BE INFLUENCED BY THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE SOVIET UNION SHOWS RESTRAINT IN ITS CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR ARMS PROGRAMS AND FORCE DEPLOYMENTS AFFECTING THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE.

-- IN DISCUSSING BREZHNEV'S OFFER FOR MUTUAL RENUNCIATION, PRESIDENT CARTER STATED, "THE SOVIETS HAVE NO USE FOR THE NEUTRON WEAPON" BECAUSE IT IS DESIGNED TO COUNTERACT THEIR OWN SUPERIORITY IN TANK FORCES AND "SO THE

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SOVIET OFFER BY BREZHNEV TO REFRAIN FROM BUILDING THEM HAS NO SIGNIFICANCE . . . AND HE KNOWS THIS." VANCE

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